1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 rated from the tent proper by long ropes, purposely designed so that the edge of the fabric composing the tent will remain about two feet from the ground. The space under the tent is sometimes walled off with matting set up as sides, and sometimes left open.

351 About the tent or group of tents the Nomads place thick hedges of cut, dried brush, of a particularly thorny and impenetrable variety, called *afarai*. This forms a serviceable en-
417 closure to protect the livestock against animals and the whole encampment against invaders, since anyone stumbling into it would arouse the dogs (if the latter had not already become aware of his approach).

In Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit, the sedentary peoples have adopted the *afarai*, but for a different purpose: they set it around their courtyards and onion patches to keep out wild animals. (See plate 21.)

342 Among the tent-dwellers of Braber extraction and the Arabs, every tent contains a *thaghirtch*, a cloth curtain dividing the area into two rooms, one of which is intended as a chamber of seclusion to which the women may retire when guests arrive. Among the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa such an arrangement is not found, since all sleep and live together under the one undivided cloth. Among the sedentary peoples, when a family living in a one-room house wishes to insure privacy for the womenfolk, the *thaghirtch* is hung up across the room in such a way that the part open to the guests includes the door, the women being virtually imprisoned until the guests depart. It seems strange that in the Rif only the sedentary peoples should use what is elsewhere a nomadic means of obtaining privacy.

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE

352 Household furniture in the European sense is for the most part lacking. What there is consists of mats, skins, mortars and pestles, wooden bowls, pottery containers, baskets, basketry trays, and little else.

Stools are found only in the nuclear area. The Riffian stool, called *thiminjarth*, is a low affair, adzed from a single block of wood, with a long gouge parallel to the edges scooped out beneath to form a cleavage between the two sides. The top is concave and built for
● [152] comfort. The Riffians who use these stools are very much ashamed of them and hide them when guests from outside the nuclear area are expected. The stools are found in Beni Amart, among the mountain Urriaghlis, and in Temjunt, Iherrushen, and Ikhuanen.

The Taghzuthis use a sort of low stool made from several pieces nailed together, with four legs and a concave top. This seat is used by leatherworkers, who get down and sit on the ground when not working. These Taghzuthi craftsmen also possess low round tables on which they cut leather, and others, built like butchers' blocks, on which they pound it. Both these types of table and the local chair form are definitely associated with the leather industry, which is a recent one in Taghzuth; indicating that these articles of furniture are of no great antiquity at Taghzuth. Other objects which adorn the house are pottery, basketry, cloth, and blankets, described elsewhere.

Pegs along the wall serve to support clothing, firearms, leather bags, earthen plates, bottles of European manufacture (highly prized and hung up in places of honor), and strings of peppers and onions, which likewise festoon the rafters. Sausages sometimes hang clustered from these capacious rafters, which likewise furnish a resting-place for the family distaff, wool cards, and wool. The upright women's loom is set up in the rooms least likely to be used in the entertainment of masculine guests.

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last analysis, is with her husband, although the relationship between idhuran (sing. adhuggwar) or in-laws is always conceptualized in terms of mutual help, friendship and obligation, in short, of alliance.

25--What is presumably meant here is that one is never sure if one's allies of yesterday will be one's enemies of tomorrow.

26--Blanco recognizes the shifting character of liffs on lower levels of segmentation and the relative permanence of those on higher levels, and it is certainly true that in one sense the permanent liffs act as checks and balances on those of the lower levels. However, what Blanco does not say is that this cuts both ways; and in a critique of Montagne's ideas on the subject, Andre Adam (La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 41) raises the question of whether liffs cause war or prevent it, saying in effect that if their function was to prevent it, they hardly succeeded!

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27--This point, again, is well taken. Liffs, in theory, do not exist today, and even though the liff structure is largely erased from the minds of Rifians of the younger generation, it could probably be reactivated without difficulty if the need arose, although such reactivation would doubtless take different and more modern forms. Hatreds in the Rif today are latent; but every Rifian is perfectly aware who his friends and who his enemies are, both within his own tribe and outside it.

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28--The European concept of "republic", rather than the Rifian Republik, probably is the context which Blanco intended in this case, even though the latter makes far better sense!

29--It is not so much a difference as a shift in emphasis, as the Rifian proverb quoted in note 18 makes so abundantly clear.

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30--If this statement is at the same time supposed to give any idea of the primary divisions or maximal segmentation of the Aith Waryghar into five khmas, it is highly misleading. From certain of his previous assertions, it seems that Blanco does indeed recognize the difference between a segmentary system and a liff system, but he does not bother to make this difference explicit anywhere. In addition, he faithfully lists the member clans and subclans of Moiety A, but merely refers to Moiety B as "the rest". To clarify the matter further, it should be said that the Aith Waryaghar are segmented into five "fifths", or khams khmās (sing. dhakhammasth; the notion of "five fifths" in addition indicates that a tribe is strong), as follows: I) Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari; II) Aith 'Abd Allah; III) Aith Hadhifa; IV) Aith Bu 'Ayyash, containing the subclans of Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (as it were) and Aith 'Adhiya (as we shall see Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper was in the numerically superior liff, as was Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while Aith 'Adhiya and Aith 'Ari were in the smaller liff--thus the first two clans or subclans might be considered onomastically "dominant" and the second two onomastically "recessive", to borrow a term from Mendelian genetics); and V) Imrabdhen. To set the record completely straight regarding references in previous notes, and to attempt to tie up loose ends, the mountain, or Jbil, (sub)clans of Aith Turirth, Timarzga and

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829 their own dwellings, anticipating possible impertinences and discourtesies which, wounding their brittle and easily hurt amour propre, would not be able to reject their ways and customs; but if, at some time, and it would not often happen, their instinctive suspicion and simulated servility and docility are momentarily broken down, a single sentence or even a single word will reveal to you all the power and strength of their race, the pride in their ancestry and the consciousness of their superiority; for it is precisely the Rifian resistance to all innovations and to all submission which is one of their most fundamental characteristics![4] In support of this we may refer to the
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152 case of a qa'id, of an old qa'id of a Rifian tribe, who in the company
[123] of others had to attend an official meeting at which protocol compelled a special dress to be worn. The only indication that I gave him that he had to change his clothes for the officers was an outrage to him, which I noticed on seeing his cheeks turn red. The game was lost and an adequate answer was forthcoming: "Do you think I am a little boy?" The other quyad (pl. of qa'id) intervened, but he paid no attention to them; if they wished, he would do so, if not, he would retire; and that old and dignified mountaineer went out with his clothes unchanged, showing himself in the natural and logical manner of his own protocol and not in that of the others, a manner in which, also, he has all his excellence.

671 If we turn our attention to these qanuns, if, after putting aside our European criteria of judgment, we diligently examine their badly constructed phrases and sentences, if we analyze their meaning with all possible affection and if we really desire to penetrate into the spirit

671 628 613 728 Things went well, while the violators of the past were humble figures among the allied groups, incapacitated by their slight strength and the fact that they had few friends to abuse the pact by opposing themselves to other groups concerned; but when the equilibrium was upset or broken by the hatreds of the more distinguished lineage members, dragging their powerful lineages into the fray, the pact was wrecked and peace disappeared anew.

671 628 728 Observe in note 1 the guarantee of peace. In note 2, the formality of the agreement obtained. In note 3, the punishment. In note 4, the violation of the agreement. In note 5, the executive organ, the mass of the population. In note 6, the procedure. In note 7, the reason for the punishment, because it is a voluntary law. In notes 8 and 9, the fulfillment. In notes 10 and 11, the notables, the really significant personages, the Aitharbi'in. In notes 12 and and 13, with economic details, the democratic sensation of defective practice. In note 14, the Rifian illusion.

671 628 152 Notes 3 and 4 seem to show that Rifian custom is not designed to punish the loyal combatant, who, in an inflamed dispute, comes impulsively to make use of arms, incapable of dominating his instincts and always quick to defend his rights, but also to avoid treachery, cunning and hatred, or rather, vengeance, reprisal, from which the Rifians did not know how to free themselves, and which used up men and [572] [828] families. This is a notion which renders honors to manhood and stigmatizes the coward.

554 671 In notes 2, 10 and 11 it may be seen who the Rifians of significance are and that only these men, and not the ordinary tribesmen, are the executives and legislators. This proves what has been said

000 they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down. Furthermore,
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152 we may see the alarming case in which the commercial transactions of some individuals with the Island of al-Husaima undergo a considerable increase; their gains, fabulously augmented through envy and general misery, permit their rivals to throw doubts and suspicion on the real origin of their opulence; having no other source of wealth, the latter impute frightful treacheries to them. Perhaps a bloodfeud or an
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197 accusation deprived more than one Amhaw (sing. of Imhawren) of a large Spanish pension from the above island[34].....All this and the constant
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623 inter-lineage hatreds charged the atmosphere in such a way that somebody had the idea, eagerly grasped by the rest, to hold a meeting in order to put an end to such a calamitous state of affairs.

623 When the date is established and has arrived, the meeting is held, without discussion of anything other than details, for in the preparatory work, as we have said, the participants have already reached the stage of assembling their criteria. There is no delay in expressing whatever must be considered a crime, nor even in the type and importance of the punishment, for as all of them committed sins or hoped for an occasion to do so, they had to establish a moderate punishment under a savage exterior, and, above all, a guarantee of not becoming enveloped in bloodfeuds.

623 For this reason, the popular assembly makes a collective and
687 graphic insult (Blanco: note b, in text), although afterwards this is
685 limited to a fine (Blanco" note c, in text) of fairly sizeable proportions which is imposed upon the smuggler and informer from al-Husaima Island or on a thief, in place of exterminating him. Thus public

585 571 431 182 Gift exchanges of this sort, however, are part of an ongoing system, rooted in past transactions and perpetuating future obligations. If, for example, a man paid $300 for a wedding and received back $300 in gifts, the account would by no means be balanced. Unless the man were wealthy, the original $300 was accumulated through a network of previous obligations and the subsequent $300 has set up a whole new series of obligations. [426] There are few Riffians who are owed no debts and owe no debts to others. The system is rarely in even balance where one's debts are equal to one's credits. It is a system of exchange guided entirely by its own rules and completely divorced from commercial exchange. Its ability to work as a system is guaranteed by the pride and honor of the participants.

585 574 The final ceremonial act involves a feast held on the seventh day following the last day of the wedding. On this day the immediate relatives (father and mother) of the bride see her for the first time since she left their home. This is a much smaller ceremony, involving only the close relatives of [431] the two families involved. On this occasion, in addition to the food provided by the host, small gifts are given the bride by her own family. This celebration is socially important because the groom's family wishes to impress upon the visitors 585 574 how well their daughter has married. This sentiment seems to be particularly felt among the women associated with the groom's • 152 family. They are placed in a strained position since the bride's [292] party are dressed in their finest guest costume, while the women [291] of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes.

585 of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes. A
574 feeling of intense competition seems to surround this ceremony
152 with the women of the bride's family appearing lofty and superior vis-à-vis the groom's family. Perhaps it is embodied in the compensatory feeling that one family has permanently lost a member to another family.

585 The seven days prior to this celebration are regarded as a 'honeymoon' during which the bride is still special. With the passing of this ceremony she is no longer tislith (bride) but timrath (wife) and must assume the ordinary business of household activities. Westermarck (1914:309) mentions a further ceremony
585 on the fortieth day after the wedding, in which a goat is
431 slaughtered by the groom and the meat taken to the wife's father's house. There countergifts, in the form of a cow or some goats, are given by the girl's father. This ceremony may
[114] have lapsed by the time I worked in the Rif. At least I have
[178] no data in my notes regarding rituals of marriage following the seventh day ceremony.

000 general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage. The
788 authority that al-Hadj possesses is quite real and the man who
484 feels his resources might be better deployed for profit-making
554 enterprises will not carry this authority within the community. If a man wishes to maintain a position of prominence in the Rif and is fifty years or older, it is practically mandatory for him to travel to Mecca.

796 While the hadj does not affect all the Rif economically the ceremony of the Great Feast or Aid al-Kebir which is held all over the Muslim world on the tenth day of Dhu 'l-Hijja has
[782] a universal application. On this date every family head must sacrifice a ram to commemorate God's beneficence in allowing Abraham to sacrifice a lamb in the stead of his son Ishmael.

796 The month preceding this ceremony is one of intense
57] anxiety for the poor, for they must acquire either the animal
602 or the money by which to get one. Many of the Riffians have a
435 stock of animals from which they can select the sacrificial ram.
[152] Those who do not must rely on their wealthier sponsors, either
[231] relatives or business associates. The price of rams spirals upwards as the day of Aid al-Kebir approaches, reaching its climax the day before the celebration. Men who normally earn a subsistence wage in Alhucemas or Targuist begin to spend more time among their relatives in the countryside as they attempt to reinforce their communal support within the traditional cul-
796 tural setting. In many ways the celebration is comparable to
435 Christmas in Christian countries, except that the expenses

754 and one can get it not only from people who dislike you but from people who love you. The eye is thought to most often result [152] from jealousy, and one of the social mechanisms for constraining hubris is that pride over secular success will bring disaster upon the individual.

754 The fear of the evil eye runs counter to another major 556 principle in the Rif, the conspicuous display of prosperity as 152 a mechanism to increase prestige. The balance between avoiding jealousy and being successful is rather difficult to maintain. In any economic action the aspect of success has a countervailing feature of disaster. Although the evil eye resembles the djnoun [753] in that it conveys the same sort of misfortune in the form of [716] death and disease, there is one critical difference. The djnoun is regarded as an independent agent operating of its own volition, while the evil eye operates through a specific human agent. [578] The evil eye is the more dangerous of the two because it increases friction within the community between families or within the same family. The incentive to earn profit is curbed by the fear of attracting misfortune through the evil eye. One man who had set up a small store to sell tea, oil, sugar, and the like, dressed his children in increasingly scruffy clothing in order that his economic success would not attract envy.

751 Aside from the avoidance patterns caused by the evil eye, amulets are considered particularly efficacious as a protective [793] device. The amulets are generally prepared by the fqih, who [435] inscribes them with sayings from the Koran. Prices for these

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

105 43 182 [152] is not keyed to profit for the sake of capital accumulation or reinvestment for expansion but rather to provide resources to meet these needs. Motives for exchanges, transfers, consumption, etc. are based on 1) social obligations, 2) anticipation of spiritual or social reward, and 3) ritually prescribed ceremonies. These motives provide the dynamics of the internal economic system. While there are markets in the Rif, the economy itself is not integrated by the market. It is a society which Bohannan and Dalton would characterize as consisting of "Communities with peripheral markets--that is, the institution of the market place is present, but the market principle does not determine acquisition of subsistence or the allocation of land and labor resources" (1965:5). Of course, this does not mean that markets are unimportant in the society. The market is an institutionalized way of bringing buyers and sellers together and redistributing resources. As such it merits our attention as much as non-market transactions. Yet it is organizationally distinct from our own economy in which "All goods and services, including the use of labor, land and capital are available for purchase in markets and have, therefore, a price; all forms of income derive from the sale of goods and services--wages, rent and interest, respectively, appearing only as different instances of price according to the items sold" (Polanyi 1957:247). In the Rif the market acts as only one, and not necessarily the most predominant, focal point for exchanges. Only by exploring the complete range of exchanges can we avoid the sort of ethnographic

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